Leicester, Mass. June 13. 1865.

Dear Friend, Mary Estlin,

Always deeply in your debt, for every day of the past twenty years of my life, I feel less & less, as I grow older, as if I should ever get out of it, do what I may; and I will attempt no apologies for delay in writing to you, & replying to your kind, welcome, & much valued letters. – I find that I do not write as easily to myself as once. And, just now, writing seems to me a more unsatisfactory mode of communication than ever. I wish I c^d be in your neighborhood for at least a week, – which, using a reasonable amount of every day, w^d not more than suffice to say what I w^d like to say to you about our affairs, national, antislavery, personal, &c. Of course, it is little to say that we never shall or can be the same people again, nationally, antislavery-wise, or otherwise, that we were before the war. Certainly I hope not. If such an awful experience sh^d simply expend itself in the passions & excitements of the hour, & effect no permanent change in our purposes, policy, character, it would be to us a living shame, & prove us unfit to be a nation. But there are other respects wherein change was not looked for, was not thought desirable, is not welcome now that it comes. Nevertheless I am not going to apart that even such changes are not tending to some unseen, or dimly seen, good. The old Abolitionists are much sundered & separated in feeling – a good deal so in regard to methods of action, – very little indeed, however, in regard to ends to be attained. These differences make the subject a painful one for me to write about. They make me nervous, and I believe are a considerable cause of the unusually poor health I have had the whole spring. I am thinking of them nearly all the time, – and wish I could more readily throw them aside. I am all the time conscious that I owe it to such friends as you, & E. Wigham, and Richd Webb, to keep you well posted as to our especial affairs; & yet, whereas I once came to those subjects with a willing & elastic spirit, it is now a reluctant effort, any farther than as I feel it may give you some satisfaction. However little of that result there may prove to be, still if there is any measure of it, so far the writing is a pleasure, and the unwelcomeness of the subject partly disappears in the pleasure of writing to such true, good, and abiding friends.

The death of Mr. Lincoln was a heavy blow to me, both personally and as an Abolitionist. I honored, respected, & trusted him more & more. I was not, - I am sure of that, - a blind worshipper of him. I was frequently differing with his course at the time. But I had so many experiences of his coming out right in the result, that I grew steadily more hopeful, & more safe in my thoughts, as to him, constantly. I became entirely sure of his simple honesty, his integrity, his unselfish devotion to the Country & to his duty. And that is a vast deal. His death has proved that he never used the opportunities of office to add to his personal fortune. He died poor, or with slender possessions. The late Eulogy of Charles Sumner on Mr. Lincoln (delivered June 1st in Boston, by request of the City Government) shows him to have been, early & late, a politician of principle, from the first referring to the great & "self-evident truths that all men are created equal, & endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness," &c. &c. as affirmed in the Declaration of July 4. 1776; and on all occasions making those truths his starting point & guiding star. There was a remarkable & most unusual unity, therefore, in all his doings in public life, - such as very few of our public men can show. I ~~invariably~~ often felt that Mr. Lincoln was too slow - that he was needlessly cautious, that he didn't trust the people, & their readiness to go forward, enough; and, even at the time of his death, was fearful that he was pursuing a policy of too great & dangerous leniency towards the Rebel leaders. But lo! as that matter is sifted, & looked at in its whole length and breadth, we find great numbers, & those representing great varieties of views, advocating a policy of clemency towards all the rebels, great & small, as to their persons & lives, - & as to their property too, except in the case of the very influential ones; - such men as Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, F. W. Newman, J. S. Mill, agreeing, at least so far, with Mr. Lincoln, that the lives of Jeff. Davis & other leading rebels should be spared, and any policy, at all savoring of personal vindictiveness, be avoided. I must say I do not quite agree ~~therein~~ to all these views. I think that Jefferson Davis and a few of his compeers have justly forfeited their lives and all they have and are, by their treason, their conspiracy to overthrow liberty & enthrone Slavery, and by their brutal & murderous system of dealing with our troops, both white and black, which fell as prisoners into their hands. I believe I have no vindictiveness in the matter. By the established laws of the land, and of

all lands, I feel that those men have forfeited their lives. I do not hold to commencing a policy of pardon with such eminent and cold-blooded transgressors. I deem it due to the Cause of good order, and of human rights, everywhere, that such implacable and violent enemies to them all, should be deprived of life, — provided life is ever taken, or ever to be taken again, for any crime, in the land. I cannot agree that, while capital punishment is the law of the nation, such extraordinary criminals should be the selected exceptions to its execution. But I am wandering from the point. I was giving some general reasons for my increasing regard & confidence in Pres. Lincoln, & for my very deep sorrow at his death. But it was just at that point (the question of Mr. Lincoln's antislavery services) that our Antislavery differences began, — or, more correctly speaking, it was around that that they centred, & that they came to open division. It may not be easy for any one, now, to explain & interpret those differences correctly, — certainly not easy for one who had borne so much part in them, & felt so deeply in regard to them, as I have. Yet my knowledge of the circumstances must have a value, and my very earnest desire to know the facts, and the reasons of actions &c, must give some worth to the conclusions to which I have come. I have made the whole matter a study. I have tried to look at our public affairs, & our antislavery affairs, for myself — accepting thankfully all the light I c^d get anywhere, but giving no party adherence to any one.

You have doubtless read enough, in the Liberator and the Standard, to get the main points of the differences to which I have alluded. Those differences, in regard to some 3 or 4 of our old co-adjutors, have been, as I intimated, of quite long standing. These are P. Pillsbury, S. S. Foster, Mrs. A. K. Foster, & C. L. Remond. They all had, or thought they had, their personal grievances. I believe Mr. Pillsbury thought that he was not sufficiently estimated in the Society. I judge this partly by his own conversation, spreading over many years, in which there was always a good deal of egotism & sometimes pretty direct self-laudation, & partly by the labours of his immediate & most intimate friend to convince me that P.P. was a more far-seeing man & more of a leader in the Antislavery Cause than Mr. Garrison. I can look back nearly ten years I think, and find many facts of this sort. With that I join P.P.'s steady & persistent refusal, for nearly all that length of time, to speak at any of our public meetings in Boston, or wherever he was likely to appear in company with those members of the American or Mass^tts

Antisl: Societies who did not agree to his opinions, or to his sombre pictures and prophecies of everything in the Cause & the Country. This refusal he continued, on the plea of a want of physical ability to speak in such large meetings, until (so far as my memory serves) last January, when, at our State Annual Meeting, he found voice, & used it in a set personal attack on Mr. Garrison, - Mr. G. being absent from that day's meeting. Mr. & Mrs. Foster had had each their own personal differences with Garrison, as he could not follow Mr. F. in his frequent changes of position & opinion, nor approve Mrs. F's sweeping censures of the Republican party & all its measures. Charles Remond is a violent-tempered & intensely-conceited man, - choleric, jealous, quick to imagine neglects & slights, & finding insults where no other man did, & probably (as I have been assured is the fact by those intimate with him) actually making up stories of insults upon him as experienced in the streets, that he might so have ground to pour out his fiery indignation in a subsequent speech. With all four of these, Mr. Garrison had fallen into disfavour, by his not falling in with their idiosyncrasies (as I truly believe), and by occasionally criticising them in public. I am bound to say that, on one occasion, Mr. Garrison went far, as I think, in ~~[illegible]~~ criticism upon Mrs. Foster. Some 7 or 8 yrs. ago (perhaps not so) in an eve'g. meeting in Boston, after she had been bitterly attacking the Republican party, he (in reply) referred to the fact that during the ~~past~~ previous year she had solicited & obtained considerable funds of members of the Republican party for Antislavery purposes, which he maintained she c'd. not have obtained, had she been as frank & outspoken with them, at the time, as she was of them at the present moment. It amounted to a charge of concealment of opinions, to get money. I am sure that G. did not see the full force of his words, - i.e. to what length they might be stretched - nor intend a charge of deliberate deception, as S.S.F. & A.K.F. afterwards (& I believe ever since) have contended. She & her husband positively denied that she had ever, at any time, or any person from whom she asked pecuniary help, concealed opinions of the Republicans, or on any point belonging to the cause. I do not doubt that, in this, she was essentially right. Garrison explained that he had intended no charge of moral dishonesty, but of absolute self-contradiction of acts & words. Yet A.K.F. never forgave him

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These things are neither pleasant for me to write nor for you to read. Yet they are essential to a correct understanding of the recent open division in our ranks. These jealousies & grudges, on the part of the four I have named, were frequently appearing in our meetings. But they amounted to but little. Few cared for them, & as a general thing those who understood the matter felt ashamed of the course of Pillsbury, Mrs. Foster, &c. Nor would they, now or at any time amount to anything, had the four been obliged to stand on their own strength & cause alone.

But here came in a new element. Wendell Phillips, from being a ~~warm and earnest~~ apologist & defender of Mr. Lincoln during the first 2 years of his administration, veered suddenly about, and declared "I give Mr Lincoln up," — coming into our office one day, & with a dramatic manner unusual in him, making this announcement, to the surprise of us all, for we felt that his grounds for such a change were frivolous. Consider it. During the first 2 years (or perhaps somewhat more) of Mr. Lincoln's Presidency, W.P. had actually led us all — i.e. I mean been in advance of us all — in favourable interpretation of Mr. Lincoln's acts and purposes. His criticism was not withholden, but it was generous, always giving him credit for desiring to do all he could in the behalf of Freedom, representing him as right in feeling, as in advance of the people, & as fully ready to go forward if the people would sustain him; — & he (P.) rebuked the Bostonians, & North^n people generally, for not holding more meetings to support the President. These are undeniable facts. Mr. Phillips was cordial, if anything going beyond what any facts known to the public would warrant, in his commendation of Pres. Lincoln, during those years when Mr L. did the least for Freedom, when he was doing many things most discouraging to the Abolitionists, such as the appointment of Gen. McClellan, & holding on to him so long, the appointment & support of Gen. Buell, the reluctant ~~& unwilling~~ assent to the law for Confiscation of Rebel property, the removal of Gen. Fremont in Missouri, &c &c. Not all these could blind Wendell Phillips to the essential good traits of Mr. L.'s character, to the many important & invaluable qualifications for his high office which the President possessed. For one I admired this course in Phillips. I saw he was no partizan of Mr. Lincoln's, but that he meant to make fair allowance for the difficult

circumstances in which he was placed, and to be generous in his interpretation of his administration. I honored Phillips greatly for this, and I know I was much influenced, & strengthened in my own leanings, by his course. I well remember that September morning in 1862, when the President's preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation appeared; – and the joy which pervaded my father's household (I was then in Boston myself) as we read aloud the Proclamation, which took the country, antislavery & proslavery men alike, by surprise. Immediately after breakfast, I went into Garrison's house (near by); I found him sitting as usual among papers, & told him I had come to congratulate him on our immense gain. I found him not at all elated, & was surprised to find him not much moved. It was, he said, "a step in the right direction". I told him I held it of vastly more acct. than that. It was a definite, well-pronounced, unmistakeable policy at last, which all must understand, which none cd. dispute, & which could not fail to tell powerfully for the Cause of Liberty & against Slavery, as well as for the Cause of the Country. But I left him, as I found him, taking a very calm view of the matter, – and by no means inclined to rate either the document, or its author on acct. of it, very highly in the antislavery scale. Very soon after that, I met Phillips, – (I think I went to his house, too, on my way down to the A: S: Office.) I found him quite delighted. I told him just how Garrison took it, & just what he said of it. "A step!" exclaimed Phillips, "it is a stride!" And he spoke very warmly & hopefully of its effects. He was sure, as all Abolitionists were, that the Confederacy & the Slaveholders wd. pay no heed to its warnings, but wd. meet it with derision; & so go madly & blindly (as we were sure from the first hour of the rebellion they were doing) to their destruction. I mention this case, simply to show that W. Phillips thought and spoke favorably & hopefully of Mr. Lincoln – had great confidence in him, & exhorted others to have. And it shows, too, that Garrison's confidence in Mr. Lincoln was not soon or suddenly given; – on the contrary grew slowly; it could not be called confidence until (I think) after the 1st of January 1863, nor did it amount to a strong & reliable ground of action with him, until some time later. I cannot satisfy myself as to where was the precise turning-point with Phillips, or the real motive of the change which came over him, in regard to Mr. Lincoln. I think it was this; – But when he

first saw Pres. Lincoln, after the 1st Jan. 1863, they of course talked about the Proclamation. Subsequently, in a public speech, (or speeches) Phillips gave an account of that conversation, in which he represented Mr. Lincoln as doubtful of the good effect of the measure, & disposed to wish it had not been announced. Mr. Lincoln heard of the speech, & in some way made a correction ~~was made~~, not exactly officially I believe, & yet distinctly. Phillips re-affirmed his first statement, to the effect that the Prest. had told him he was doubtful of any good result from the Proc. of Emancip.n & feared it was a mistake. Then Mr. Lincoln distinctly denied, through his friend William Whiting, Esq., Solicitor of the War Department, that he had ever thought the Procl.n a mistake, or ever expressed such an opinion to Mr. Phillips or any one else. Phillips, instead of ~~letting~~ accepting it as a misunderstanding on his part, or even (as he might properly) welcoming the President's ~~[illegible]~~ careful & deliberate opinion in the case, chose to adhere to his first statement. So it became a question of veracity between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Phillips, seemingly. I think it was very generally so looked at. I believe Phillips was disposed to ~~[illegible]~~ take that view of it. At all events, he cooled off at once to Mr. Lincoln, - ~~and~~ I believe, never met him again, and I am quite sure never said a cordial, kind word of him again. I well remember being with him at Plymouth, Jan. 1. 1864, attending a County Anti-Sl. Meeting, called to commemorate the first Anniversary of the Proc. of Emancipation. Not one hearty word would, or did, Phillips say of it, and all the commemorative or favourable notice the ~~[illegible]~~ Procl.n got, then & there, was from myself. Levi Coffin of Cincinnati (since in England) was at that meeting. I do not particularly remember if he alluded to the Procl.n; his remarks bore chiefly on the relief and aid of the freed people. Phillips, at that meeting, as for some week or two previous, & for quite a time afterward, devoted himself to a ~~[illegible]~~ stringent criticism on Mr. Lincoln's ~~(this)~~ Amnesty Proclamation, then just issued. He magnified ~~his~~ its mistakes & weak points, as I now think, beyond the limits of a fair Criticism. However, we excused his severity then, feeling with him that there was great danger in re-admitting the rebel States, or individuals in them, to citizenship & their old place, & that it was rather an humiliation for our Govt. to even seem to be suing to the Secessionists for a return. We all know now that it was no freak, or impulsiveness, or sympathy with rebellion, that led Mr. L. to his amnesty offers. He sincerely believed in the wisdom of conciliatory measures; & still more, he lacked heart for severe ones.

But Phillips would neither see, or hear of, any redeeming feat in the Amnesty, nor allow the Pres.t any excuse for signing it. As that Winter wore on, the question of the next Presidential nomination became more & more discussed; and I found that Phill was getting deep into it. I know – he freely spoke of it himself that throughout that winter, & the following early spring, the great point to which he addressed himself in his public lectures, a in his intercourse with leading citizens, was to get some one more States to "send an unpledged delegation" to the Baltim Republican Convention (called to nominate candidates for the Pres.y & V. Pres.y) That Conv.n was to be held June 7th. Phillips labored to into it a delegation of men, free to vote for a candidate in opposition to Lincoln. He particularly laboured to get the delegation from Vermont of this type. All this I don't conjecture, – I know. His motive w as I most assuredly believe, to get the Republican Nomination for Gen.l Fremont, with whom he had come into very close & intimate personal relations. I know he meant to throw out Mr. Lincoln, it could possibly be done. He laboured for it with intense zeal & perseverance. But he could not carry his point, either in Verm or elsewhere, of sending a Fremont delegation to the Balt.m Convention. The North.n loyal & antislavery people were too universally satisfie with Mr. Lincoln, to allow of a proposition to set him aside. Afte the Convention was held, Phillips undertook to depreciate its cha & weaken confidence in its action. He called it a collection of "S politicians, & self-interested contractors, &c. &c. There may hav been some Gov.t contractors in it. If so, very few. A more reputab & respectable political convention never assembled in the Count. Foiled in their efforts to get any foot-hold in the Baltimore Convention, the friends of Gen. Fremont bestirred themselves to ca an independent Convention; – which was done, – and the Clevela Convention (held about June 1, 1864) was summoned. Phillips threw self warmly into that measure. He could not, consistently with h well-known views of the U. S. Constitution, be a member of it hi & moreover was able to help it better in an apparently more disinterested position. But he worked hard for it. He wrote telling letter in its behalf to Judge Stallo of Ohio. He went abo predicting that the great German vote of the West & Northwes would be refused to Mr. Lincoln under all circumstances, would be given, spite of all efforts to prevent it, to Fremont, idol of the Germans, and to nobody else. Mr. Phillips was &

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of his predictions at this time. And on the other side of the water, M. D. Conway (who had been acting with Phillips for ~~a long~~ some time, and evidently with an understanding between them in regard to some specific end to be reached) began to try his hand at prophecying. One of his solemn & sarcastic - not to say pedantic - predictions was "that it was as possible for a ptero-dactyl to fly through the streets of Boston, as for Abraham Lincoln to be re-elected President by the people of the United States". That "ptero-dactyl" conceit of Conway's fixed his ~~that~~ prediction in my mind. Has he learned any share of modesty since he uttered that confident - and worthless - prophecy? I suspect not. The result of his negociation with Mr. Mason of Virginia, mortifying enough to send any other man into the deepest shades of self-reproach and silence for a long term of penance, never touched him in the least apparently: He came out of it with a laugh and a light excuse, & felt as well as ever. That action of his was base, as well as absurd, - disgraceful to himself, doubly so by his attempt to make the abolitionists his sponsors, trebly by his assumption to act for the Country. I am deeply mortified & pained, to think my once dear, long-loved, warmly admired friend Wendell Phillips should ever have placed himself in a position to encourage & use such a man as Conway. But to return to the Cleveland Convention. Who of the abolitionists rallied ~~around~~ in support of that Convention, besides Phillips? It is instructive to note who they were. Parker Pillsbury! and Stephen S. Foster! - the latter with ~~more~~ some consistency indeed, for he had for several years been trying to find or form a political party to guide & direct, even if (as a "non-resistant") he could have ~~[illegible]~~ no personal membership in it. P. P. had, for a year or more previously, been much in New York acting with Dr. Cheever and members of his Church. Dr. C. himself, I believe, had no direct connexion with the Cleveland Convention but doubtless gave it much aid & encouragement, and his brother, Rev. Henry Cheever, was a member of it from this State. I have no doubt that P. P. was influenced to attend that Convention by Dr. Cheever & his immediate friends. It was however (if I understand Pillsbury at all) an act wholly opposed to his avowed principles & philosophy of action. Numbers, votes, physical strength & power, he had always scouted as a basis of truth or reform; nor would he go a step from his course, nor utter a word looking like concession, to conciliate any one's support or recognize their approach towards the true ground. All this he had to abandon, all at once he joins a political party's nominating Convention, and in a way which must have

brought him some unpleasant reflections, when he went into the Cleveland Convention. I heard of his afterwards confessing that it was one of the lowest, coarsest, & most repulsive bodies of men he was ever in. Such was the general testimony. It was not a delegated Convention. Any body went who chose. A large proportion of its members were Germans from Missouri, & that section of the country, — men of avowed religious unbelief & many of careless moral lives. With these was a considerable infusion of so-called "Democrats" of a somewhat better class of character, yet selfish & intriguing, & ready almost for anything which should promise to reinstate the "democracy" in power. I am confident that Pillsbury has had many pangs of shame in his retrospect of that Convention. Be that as it may, he went to it, went thro' it, took official part in it, & continued to adhere to it. He afterwards published something of dissent from its position that Slavery was dead, as I have heard; but I did not see the letter. Gen. Fremont's letter of acceptance alienated from him & from that Convention the greatest part of the antislavery & really principled sympathy & support that ever went with them. Still Phillips, Foster, &c, clung to those nominations. I heard Phillips excuse & justify Fremont's letter, saying it was an "available letter", that it was well calculated to "get Democratic support". When I heard W. P. uttering such sentiments, I cd. not but say within myself, "How are the mighty fallen!" Yet Phillips insists he is no politician — has not been one — is still "a reformer", & a reformer only; & that we (those Abolitionists who steadily refrained from party action, yet gave full commendation to the Govt. & to Mr. Lincoln for their general anti-slavery policy & measures,) were the politicians, &c. Even after Gen. Fremont withdrew from the contest, as a candidate, (as he did by urgent request of leading men, his personal friends), Phillips & Foster lamented the act, & thought he ought have held on. Here is the whole secret, I believe, my dear friend, of Phillips's hostility to the "Standard" & its editors. Indeed, if I can be sure of anything, not actually demonstrable mathematically, I am sure of that. I have studied Phillips's course, & the whole question of his relation to the Society & the Standard, and to Mr. Garrison & the Liberator for upwards of a year, and I am entirely satisfied as to the correctness of my conclusion. Briefly stating, it is this: Phillips, on acc^t. of his falling out with Mr. Lincoln, (be the cause of that, what I have supposed it to be, or anything else,) resolved to do his utmost to displace him from the Presidency. He knew that he had personal influence, — he believed he could carry with him the Antislavery Society, & its members, & its prestige. He addressed himself to the work

"rest" after Lincoln, Lowell, [illegible] all his feelings had [illegible] the lecturing & conversation work. [illegible] ith. & hence, therefore, I & [illegible] & hence approached my knowledge, [illegible] cast authority, the case as [illegible] brought in to the Chicago Meeting of the Am. Soc. in [illegible] impression on all Lincoln. It was a small meeting, & just before its close, he wrote [illegible] a vote. It was in [illegible] while we do not criticise [illegible] the Administration, still, as abolitionists we feel bound to [illegible] of its purpose to put the freedom the Negro on such a basis [illegible]; This was guarded & sufficient [illegible]; and yet he got for it but a bare majority — the votes in the [illegible] meeting standing 21 Yeas to 18 Nays. On the strength of that vote [illegible] his warmth upon the Standard [illegible] the Standard with being a fraud and a disgrace [illegible], because it ~~was not [illegible]~~ would not go into a general opposition to [illegible] the strength of that vote. I contend that that vote required no such course in the Standard, — that it did not look to any [illegible] to the Administration, but, at the most, required renewed caution against falling into any partizanship, & renewed [illegible]. Moreover there was no censure on the Standard, [illegible] instruction as to its future. The editors, unad- [illegible] that give it a rather doubtful resolution might ad- [illegible] them, [illegible] serving the Anti-Slavery Cause to a [illegible] standing & capacity, & experience. The time of [illegible] hand. Mr. Johnson did not understand [illegible] and, & Mr. Phillips wrote him a sharp [illegible] of it to me, & I wrote immediately to Johnson, [illegible] to publish the Call at once with than Wm. Phillips, "as good & sincerest, a friend of the Cause" (or in words of similar import) any [illegible] complaints. [illegible] a serious fault in the [illegible] (I should say Johnson gave good reasons for not publishing [illegible]) that it was a [illegible] he, withstand the [illegible] (at the time) [illegible] he had staked upon the Call Convention. [illegible] how great the [illegible] was his disappointment & his pleasure [illegible] that Convention [illegible] serious. [illegible] issued, [illegible] its official Orga- [illegible] no support. [illegible] had evidence before it of the [illegible] strangely wrong character of the Fremont movement. [illegible] believed, — & [illegible] supported by 9 tenths of the Anti-Slavery [illegible] & perhaps [illegible]

[illegible] contempt [illegible]

when I think of Phillips's course towards the Standard. — By the
withdrawal of Garrison from the Presidency of the James S. Society, and of Lucius
Robinson from the Editorship, the control of the Society and the paper easily
fell into the hands of Phillips, and of that clique of uncomfortable
"injured" persons, who have long been trying to make some headway
against Garrison & get some triumph over him. What they always had
to do before, & always would have, they found a way for, when Wm. Phil-
lips lent them his countenance, and, and leadership, — this bringing in the new element of which I spoke. — When they saw the
[illegible] was ready to be against Mr. Garrison, and the Administration
the Liberator & the Standard, they forthwith joined themselves to his
[illegible] his body-guard ever since. In such hands, actuated by so little
[illegible] wisdom, discretion, sound judgment, or good spirit, the [illegible]
than 30 years of noble life, both the Liberator, against [illegible]
vindicating powerfully & effectively the rights of the Slave [illegible]
Effectually its work is done. The instating of the Freedman in all his rights is now the work of the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to Congress. The signs of the times were good. [illegible] himself a true friend of the Country, and a worthy successor of Mr. Lincoln. He is laying a heavy hand upon the men found guilty [illegible] in Virginia, — [illegible] ever since the Capture of Richmond, [illegible] Secession [illegible] Course in the [illegible] to the [illegible] people, [illegible]

[illegible] Garrison [illegible] in keeping the Society or in advising its dissolution. My belief is, and it is Dr. Johnson's, that, had the [illegible] harmonious, as before, Gr. W^d. have waived [illegible] to continue in connexion with it, in the full [illegible] Slavery W^d. be accomplished. I believe so the more as he one [illegible] within the last years) of holding a special Jubilee meeting [illegible] the Amendt. was completely ratified. But [illegible] want of [illegible] the personalities which more & more were creeping into our meetings, when added to his conviction that, for all practical purposes, the Society's peculiar work was done & ended, — thenceforward to be carried on by other agencies with vastly increased means & on a national scale, — determined his own action; he counselled dissolution and [illegible] in [illegible] end.

You will see, [illegible] to Wendell Phillips. I open it, [illegible] interpreting his motives & purposes in accordance with the facts of his conduct, — to which [illegible] most of [illegible]

[illegible] to break down

[illegible] to Mr. Lincoln's administration

[illegible] Republican party [illegible]

[illegible] Ed. Dillie Standard

[illegible] Such [illegible]

either, and follow up his hostility, [illegible]

and for which Mr. Johnston [illegible]

I have been his surround[illegible]

[illegible] Such [illegible]

at all. I ask no [illegible]

who I say that the Am. Party, [illegible]

which they once represented, however, [illegible]

present words I must tell. But I cannot act with Phillips in his present mood & temper; nor with S.S. Foster who declares of Mr. Lincoln's administration that "it is the most infamous the country has ever had" [illegible] Hill, Pettit, &c, [illegible] Yet I have been to be [illegible] similar ground; - nor with P. Pillsbury who declared, only a few months ago, that the [illegible] we might have [illegible] that Abraham Lincoln has [illegible] the [illegible] Such [illegible]

of

P.S.

[illegible]

[illegible] 5"

[illegible] a few shorter time. I did not like to have

[illegible] (

the Lee & Joh'n surrender) of the other Rebel Armies, the Capt.

[illegible] Jefferson Davis, his disguise(!) &c. His party in Europe must have

[illegible]

[illegible] these events. I went to Washington, to see the grand review of the

two Armies of Grant (or Meade rather), and Sherman, — the latter being

the man who had made that wonderful march from Tennessee into

North'n Alabama, North'n & Central Georgia to Savannah, up thro. So. Carolina

[illegible] line on the one side & the other, without Sherman's coming near them

[illegible] as the walls of Jericho fell down in alarm at the sound of the

[illegible] coming. I did to the heart of N. Carolina, when Johnston surrendered

the War virtually ended. I went not being [illegible]

[illegible] by my wife & Geo. thereto, & encouraged to come by my son

Edward, who is still employed at Washington in the War Department

& who offered to share his room with me, — for Washington was to be excessively

crowded. I went on 3 days beforehand, & even then found the R.R. Cars all very

overloaded. I enjoyed my time in W. very much; but the fatigue & effect

[illegible] heat, and I was quite ill for a week afterwards. For one

[illegible] 6 hours, on each of 2 of the finest days that ever shone (Thurs. 23. & Fri.

24.) [illegible] passing in the review of Troops.

They hurried me, in "cadence step" so called, at a pretty good pace, 20

inches, — artillery, &c., & even 6 pieces abreast — of course; & yet it took

Each Army formed a column of that breadth of front, of nearly or quite 18 miles long, leaving out

nearly 6 hours for each Army to pass. (Yet the whole of neither Army was

there. None of Sherman's Cavalry appeared (Kilpatrick's). No

[illegible] discharged

[illegible] led to Washington & been reviewed. — The Colored troops are mainly to be retained in service. These reviewed troops, to be

I had the satisfaction of seeing

the new President & Chaplain [illegible]

[illegible] pied to see our distinguished military men, — Grant, Sherman, Meade, Logan

[illegible] Howard, (then went

[illegible]

authorized representative present to draw for them or such place in the race as may then be drawn for the the Judges.

3. Each boat must be designated in the races by number they draw, which number may be placed in conspicuous place upon the boat, where it can be seen. The number will be supplied by the Judges.

4. All boats may carry a coxswain or not, as the may elect. Each crew must be uniformly dressed.

5. Two guns will be fired for each race, the first fo boats to come into line, the second for the start.

6. At 7.45 a gun will be fired for the wherries to into line. A second gun will be fired for the start.

7. Any boat taking another boat's water, thereby ing a collision, will be ruled out.

8. Boats will round the upper station from starboa larboard. If two or more boats round the upper stati the same time, the outside boat must keep off and giv inside boat sufficient room to round without hitting stake. Any outside boat crowding the inside boat lose its chances for a prize. In the four-oared rac the same rule will apply to the turn at the lower stak

9. Boats in returning must pass between Judges' and the Baths.

10. Prizes will be awarded in Treasury notes, im ately after the last race.

11. No second prize will be awarded in any race, u three or more boats contend for the prizes.

12. The ruling of the Juges will be final in all cases.

Liberal arrangements will be made to bring on from New York and other places at a distance, on ap tion to the Secretary.

CITY COMMITTEE.

CHAS. F. DANA, CHAIRMAN. | F. W. PALFREY, JOHN P. ORDWAY.

MISSOURI. The new Constitution of this State has been adopted by a majority of several thousand votes. The returns already received show a majority of 3000, and when complete returns are received, i is estimated that it will not be very far from 5000. The soldiers' vote was given almost unanimously for the Constitution. A St. Louis correspondent of the New York Tribune gives the following reasons for the large vote against the measure in that city:

The Germans, as a general thing, have gone against the new Constitution. The explanation is simple. A majority of them are Infidels, and those who are not *Free* Thinkers are chiefly Roman Catholics. The largest number were opposed to the Constitution because it repeated the language of the old Constitution in recognition of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and disqualified a witness who did not recognize the Almighty. The smaller class went with the balance of the Catholics against the Constitution because of the test oath required of the Priests. The Catholics poured out their money like water to defeat the measure, and the immense majority rolled up in this city (5,895) shows that they were powerful opponents. The leading Germans have already repented of their opposition, and it the fight were to take place again tomorrow the result would be very different. The Germans do not like the company of Copperheads.

P. S. 2d (June 20. 1865.) Topics multiply, and I find I must add a few words on several points; & so will proceed on this unused half-sheet. In a paper wh. I received yesterday I found a paragraph concerning the Germans of the West, which will ~~helpe to~~ throw some light on what I said of the German element in the Cleveland Convention. It is from a source wh. entitles it to consideration. It shows that large nos. of these Western Germans are a superficially prejudiced & uncertain people. I enclose the paragraph.

The new Bureau of Freedmen is, I believe, to do great things for the Country & the Colored People, — as I said in last week's Liberator. It is admirably & efficiently organized, so far as regards its Officers. Now if Congress, representing the People, will place in their hands adequate authority & means, the old Slaveholders will be reduced to their suitable level, & kept there. There lies our great danger now. A vast field opens before us, in reference to the return of the Seceded States to the Union, the terms on wh. they shall come, and the nature of the relations wh. the old Classes — Slaveholder, Slave, Poor White — shall henceforth bear to the Nation and to each other. I have no doubt that Andrew Johnson understands the case & its needs thoroughly; I believe that he means to act vigorously, yet with deliberation, & with due deference to the advancing State of the public mind. He knows that, by the Constitution, ~~every~~ each State in the Union has the right to fix & regulate the conditions of the Suffrage for itself. He will not therefore override that right. He recognises it, rather, by appointing, first in N. Carolina, afterwards in Alabama, (& so will go on doubtless,) certain loyal men as Provisional Governors, empowered to go on & call a Convention of the People, to form a new State Constitution. That, as I understand, is all that Pres. Johnson has done thus far in the matters of Reconstruction. He does not commit himself to anything further, and he cannot commit Congress at all. If these States are sensible & clear-sighted, they will themselves lay the axe at the root of their old Social barbarisms, break down all caste & aristocracy, ensure free labour the fullest protection and its just compensation, & give all men equal rights as citizens. This is necessary and indispensable. If these States will undertake this labour themselves, & pledge themselves to do it, it is far better, than to accept it unwillingly from the Conquering power. Give them therefore the opportunity. That opportunity will bring to the surface and into light all their pro-slavery, all their hate of the North and of the Union, all their bitterness & revenge, & their evil designs for the future, if ~~they~~ such feelings remain pent-up and active within them. On the contrary, if they purpose to lay

aside all such feelings & designs, they will show it by their action. The Constitution which each State forms will "tell the story" — will show how they feel and what they mean. If they purpose fair all is well. If not, the President, the people, Congress will under and nobody is bound to accept their action. If their proposed Constitutions evince a spirit of oppression, misrule, & hostility to republican institutions, let those States remain under Provisional or Military Governorship, until light dawns upon them. This, I think, is the President's mind as to re-construction.

The interests of the Freedmen, & of all Southern Society, are to find the amplest discussion & support in a new Journal, soon to be commenced in New York, entitled the Nation. Its editorial staff & corps of Contributors, exceed in intellectual & moral eminence, anything now existing in the Country. It is to be published weekly, in quarto form, (like the London Spectator somewhat,) — 32 pp. — and to be published at $3. per annum. You will find its Prospectus, &c in the Liberator. I look to that paper, as the legitimate Successor of the old Standard. A large publishing fund is already secured.

I see that Rev Dr. Mapes is again in our country. I have not met him. I am glad he is going to visit the So. Western freedpeople in their homes. I intended to send you a paper containing Mr Sumner's Eulogy on Pres. Lincoln, — but it has been mislaid or destroyed.

MS 8.1.6 v.1 + 8.86